



Washington, D.C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

20 April 1984

China's Contacts with Loyalist East European Parties:
A Status Report [redacted]

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While continuing to avoid party contacts with the USSR, China for two years has slowly developed contacts with the loyalist party in East Germany and, to lesser degree, in Hungary. On 11 March, for example, both East German and Chinese media reported that Chinese Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang conveyed greetings via the Chinese ambassador to SED General Secretary Honecher, and that Honecher reciprocated with greetings of his own to the Chinese party leader. [redacted]

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[redacted] both sides have sharply different objectives. China wants to broaden its influence in the international communist movement, burnish its recent "independent" image in international affairs, and encourage whatever loosening may be possible of Moscow's grip on these parties. It may be that Beijing also wants to hold out the possibility to Moscow of eventually restoring party-to-party ties, but such movement would almost certainly involve substantial Soviet compromise on the major geopolitical issues dividing them. [redacted]

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Beijing sees the loyalist parties cooperating closely with the USSR in what one Chinese official called "a slow, patient attempt to woo China back to the Soviet socialist camp." Thus, contacts have developed slowly as both sides have examined each initiative for assurance that it would accord with their interests and not be turned against them. [redacted]

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This memorandum was prepared by [redacted] China Division, Office of East Asian Analysis. Comments and questions are welcome and should be addressed to Chief, OEA/China Division, [redacted]

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East German Contacts:

Steps in CCP-SED contacts over the past two years include:

- March 1982--a delegation from the international department of the SED visits China as the guest of the East German Ambassador and holds talks with Chinese party, government, media, and academic representatives. [redacted] 25X1
- May 1982--an SED official attends a Chinese embassy reception for the departing Chinese Ambassador--a contrast to the strictly nonparty attendance at similar receptions in the past. [redacted] 25X1
- June 1982--Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang publicly acknowledges the "socialist character" of East Germany and other East European countries. [redacted] 25X1
- December 1982--Chinese officials begin to address representatives from loyalist East European parties as "comrade." [redacted] 25X1
- June 1983--Honecker, breaking with past practice, uses both his party and state titles in a congratulatory message to the new Chinese president. [redacted] 25X1
- August 1983--a delegation from the Chinese party newspaper is received in East Germany by representatives of the SED Central Committee. [redacted] 25X1
- September 1983--the daughter of senior Chinese foreign policy expert, Huan Xiang, is reported responsible for the Chinese party's contacts with the SED. [redacted] 25X1
- October 1983--SED Politburo member and Party Secretary Verner attends a Chinese embassy reception. [redacted]
- October 1983--Chinese media report the East German Ambassador briefing journalists on his country's "socialist revolution and socialist construction in the past 34 years." [redacted] 25X1
- December 1983--Chinese Vice Premier Wan Li--meeting an East German minister for what Chinese media call the "highest level contact between the two countries in 20 years"--affirms his view that China and East Germany are both "socialist countries." [redacted] 25X1
- March 1984--A Chinese diplomat tells US officials in East Berlin that Beijing is willing to establish party ties with East Germany, but the Germans remain unwilling, presumably out of deference to the USSR. [redacted] 25X1

Hungarian Contacts

In early 1983, Hungary also showed some interest in reciprocating Chinese overtures for party contacts, but subsequently it informed China that such exchanges were contingent on resumption of Sino-Soviet party ties. In 1983:

- The foreign editor of the Hungarian party paper visited Beijing.
- A Chinese news delegation subsequently visited the offices of the Hungarian party paper in Budapest.
- A representative of the Chinese Youth League journal met in Hungary with the deputy head of the Agitprop Department of the Hungarian party. [redacted]

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Prospects

Because of their strikingly different objectives, China and the loyalist East Europeans will almost certainly see their flexibility in developing party ties limited for some time to come:

- Moscow is resistant to independence in Eastern Europe, and will try to gear the loyalist parties' contacts to the pace of its own efforts at normalization with China.
- Beijing carefully avoids any identification with the Soviet-led "socialist community" that might alarm and jeopardize the Western connection so important for China's security and development. [redacted]

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As a result, contacts will probably continue without the breakthroughs that characterized the rapid improvement in recent years of China's relations with other communist parties, including such pro-Soviet parties as the French Communist Party. [redacted]

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